

# ETA MOKENA, DAUGHTER OF MOKENA HOU, AND HER HUSBAND, HARE RENATA

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THE UNIVERSITY OF  
**WAIKATO**  
*Te Whare Wānanga o Waikato*

## ETA MOKENA, DAUGHTER OF MOKENA HOU, AND HER HUSBAND, HARE RENATA

**Abstract:** *The family backgrounds of both Eta Mokena and Hare Renata can be traced, but little is known about her life compared with that of her husband. From an early age he lived in various places in Hauraki, cultivating, running pigs, catching birds, fish, and eels, and selling some of these to Pakeha. Both owned interests in several blocks of land, and Eta, being childless, gifted some interests to her nephew and nieces. Hare Renata had to fight off other claimants for several blocks of land, not always successfully, and not always by giving truthful evidence. Despite selling some of their interests in land, they were never financially secure.*

*Renata held interests in three goldfields whereas Eta held only one, in a claim named after her family. They settled in several places, and only rarely lived at Te Aroha until their last years.*

### AGES AND WHAKAPAPA

Eta Mokena was the third child and first daughter of Mokena Hou and Rina.<sup>1</sup> If her age was recorded accurately when she died, she was born in 1848.<sup>2</sup> If she gave her age correctly when being treated by a doctor, she was born either in 1850 or 1851.<sup>3</sup> Her whakapapa is given in the paper on Mokena Hou and Rina.

Eta was married to Hare Renata, who, when in 1885 and 1896 admitted that he did not know his age.<sup>4</sup> In 1886, the clerk of court noted: 'Appears about fifty five years'.<sup>5</sup> Ten years previously, when treated for bronchitis, his age had been recorded as 40.<sup>6</sup> If these entries were correct, he was born in either 1840 or 1841, but his death certificate made his year

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<sup>1</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 13, p. 221.

<sup>2</sup> Death Certificate of Eta Mokena, 15 December 1918, 1918/9925, BDM.

<sup>3</sup> Medical Returns for District of Thames for Quarters to 30 September 1885, 31 March 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 21/19, ANZ-W.

<sup>4</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 17, p. 44; no. 38, p. 106.

<sup>5</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 106.

<sup>6</sup> Medical Return for Quarter to 31 March 1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 21/19, ANZ-W.

of birth 1848.<sup>7</sup> It is not known when they married, nor is it known whether Eta could read; Renata stated that he could not but could sign his name.<sup>8</sup>

Renata's father, Matahau (or Te Mataahau),<sup>9</sup> and his mother, Ratiahia, were both Ngati Rahiri.<sup>10</sup> He also belonged to Ngati Patu and Ngati Rautao, hapu of Ngati Maru.<sup>11</sup> To become an owner of one block he claimed through Ngati Waihinu.<sup>12</sup> In 1872 and 1887 he gave the following whakapapa when applying to become an owner of Waiwhakaurunga and Te Kauri:

Rautao

Wawenga, whose wife was Te Kurakiawhiti;

their third child (a son) was Papawhakairo

Whataueue (another son)

whose second child Te Matahau was the father of six children,

Hare Renata being the third.<sup>13</sup> In 1889 and 1890 the spelling of his grandfather was given as Te Whatuewe and in 1893 as Te Whatuwewe.<sup>14</sup> His father had two wives, the first, Tutara, bearing his two elder brothers. Renata was the second child of Ritihia, as his mother's name was recorded; her first child had died before 1890.<sup>15</sup> This spelling was repeated in 1896, when it was explained that his grandmother was of Ngati Maru and his mother of Ngati Tamatera.<sup>16</sup>

In 1890, when seeking to prove ownership of the Kakatarahae Block, he traced his ancestry from Waihinu of Ngati Tamahana, a woman who married Ua.

Their second child Te Waiotehoe married Tauwakorongo;

their daughter Tokorua married Whatitiri;

their son Te Hinganganui married Pehikoikoi;

and their daughter Ritihia married Matahau.

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<sup>7</sup> Death Certificate of Hare Renata, 18 December 1918, 1918/9913, BDM.

<sup>8</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 41, p. 133; Evidence of Hare Renata on death of James Cochrane, Inquests, Justice Department, J 1 COR, 1885/2055, ANZ-W.

<sup>9</sup> See Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 12.

<sup>10</sup> Death Certificate of Hare Renata, 18 December 1918, 1918/9913, BDM.

<sup>11</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 14, p. 12; no. 25, p. 240; no. 46, p. 370.

<sup>12</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 90.

<sup>13</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 6, pp. 465-466; no. 14, p. 12.

<sup>14</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 22, p. 91; no. 25, p. 311; no. 33, p. 213.

<sup>15</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 22, p. 91; no. 25, p. 311.

<sup>16</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 95.

They produced Hare Renata and his other siblings, one of whom, Tauhinu, married Daniel Tookey,<sup>17</sup> a Pakeha Maori who lived near Thames before the opening of the goldfield.<sup>18</sup> He supported the interests of Tookey's children in two land court cases, and because two of them were under-age in 1890 was appointed their trustee.<sup>19</sup>

Under questioning in the court, he agreed that he was a 'serf' on both sides of his family.<sup>20</sup>

Eta was not Renata's first wife. In 1893 a rival claimant for the Te Makumaku Block stated that 'of old Tautoru Tawa and Hare Renata were at enmity' because 'Rangitopea had married Hare Renata and she committed adultery & fled with Kipa son of Tawa – after this Pehimane Tawa & his son Kipa were attacked by the mate ngeringeri', a fierce chant of sickness and death,<sup>21</sup> and Hare Renata had caused Parakai to makutu, or bewitch,<sup>22</sup> Pehimane.<sup>23</sup> After the Oparia block went through the court, 'they made friends' again.<sup>24</sup> Renata later denied the accusation that he had bewitched Hori Tawa and his people.<sup>25</sup>

### HARE RENATA'S EARLY LIFE

Eta's early life was not recorded. Hare Renata gave some details in evidence to the land court, with the usual vagueness about dates and sequences. When claiming ownership of the Kaukourahi Block in Piako, he gave different ages for when he first went there with his parents. 'When I was about five or six years of age I and my father went on to this land and put our pigs here we went on up to Kerepehi and lived at a place called Kirimango'.<sup>26</sup> 'I was a child when I went from Hauraki to Koukourahi and Kirimango.... I think the time my father and I went to Piako would be

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<sup>17</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 103.

<sup>18</sup> See paper on Maori in Hauraki in the nineteenth century.

<sup>19</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 2, p. 157; no. 3, p. 311; no. 27, p. 153.

<sup>20</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 98.

<sup>21</sup> P.M. Ryan, *The Reed Dictionary of Modern Maori*, 2 ed., rev. (Wellington, 1997), pp. 154, 178.

<sup>22</sup> P.M. Ryan, *The New Dictionary of Modern Maori* (Wellington, 1974), p. 23.

<sup>23</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 34, p. 43.

<sup>24</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 34, p. 44.

<sup>25</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 37, p. 277.

<sup>26</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 214.

before the Taranaki war'.<sup>27</sup> 'I was about ten years old when I first went to Te Kerepehi'.<sup>28</sup> At another hearing, he stated that he was aged nine or ten when he went with his father by canoe from Thames to Kirimango.

Q. What did you have in the Canoe with you.

A. Our clothes – my younger brothers and sisters – my mother – our goods – pigs.

Q. How many pigs.

A. I don't know there were a good many.

We had one dog, a pig dog, his name was "Kouiahi" – a male dog.

We had peach stones - wild turnip (korau), I can't remember what else.<sup>29</sup>

He also recalled taking apple trees to Koukourahi by canoe from Thames.<sup>30</sup> He was able to point out Kirimango on the map: it was a small hill, in the Makumaku Block.<sup>31</sup>

They had lived at Te Aute before moving to Te Rautawhiri after his father and brother built a house there.<sup>32</sup> Once they ceased running pigs and catching birds there, his family moved to Kirimango, which became their permanent residence.<sup>33</sup> Although he lived with his father at Kerepehi, their permanent residence was at Kirimango, where they grew potatoes, kumara, and fruit. After squabbles over the right to catch eels, they moved further up river to Matapuku and Rangikohokoho, both dry places.<sup>34</sup> Other elders of his hapu had gone to Kerepehi and elsewhere in Piako, when the area was overgrown with scrub. 'We established ourselves at Kirimango and planted there maize, potatoes, kumara; & also fruit trees & vines, sometimes we visited Hauraki', and later people visited them.<sup>35</sup> 'We lived there many

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<sup>27</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 37, p. 274.

<sup>28</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 46, p. 78.

<sup>29</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, pp. 93-94.

<sup>30</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 109.

<sup>31</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 101.

<sup>33</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 100.

<sup>34</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 297-299.

<sup>35</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 95.

years, until I was a man – we grew Kumara & Riwai [potato]<sup>36</sup> & grew fruit trees'.<sup>37</sup>

He had fished in the Heku stream and gone to Mohuhuta, on the western side of the Piako River, for eels.<sup>38</sup> Their permanent dwelling 'was at Kirimango but we used to come here to look after our Pigs'.<sup>39</sup> 'I have caught eels at Te Kopi many times, also at Te Mapara & Mohuhutu'.<sup>40</sup> When living at Kirimango his 'principal kainga' was really at Te Rautawhiri, where he lived with the parents of Paora Tiunga,<sup>41</sup> one of his main opponents in the land court, even though they were relatives.<sup>42</sup>

'When the koroi [kahikatea, both trees and fruit] trees<sup>43</sup> were in fruit we used to cut down the trees for the fruit'.<sup>44</sup> 'My father was in the habit of cutting down the Kahikatea trees so as to gather the fruit as he was not able to climb'.<sup>45</sup> Later, he explained that it was not because of his father's state of health that the trees were felled. 'When the Koroi was ripe my father, not understanding tree climbing, used to fell the trees to get the fruit'.<sup>46</sup> He did not recall taking peaches to Auckland, but did take pigs.<sup>47</sup> 'I sold the flax at the Totara – under written agreement – to a flax-miller'.<sup>48</sup> This flax was obtained from Piako, with Ngati Maru's approval; he received £10 himself.<sup>49</sup>

Two siblings were born at Kirimango, and later two more were born at Hauraki.<sup>50</sup> 'I lived for many years at Kirimango, before the Waikato War, we ate the fruit of the trees we planted. When the war began in Waikato, Hori Tawa – who was the son of my father's elder sister – brought us away

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<sup>36</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, p. 38.

<sup>37</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 214.

<sup>38</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 26.

<sup>39</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 214.

<sup>40</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 47, p. 110; no. 38, p. 109.

<sup>41</sup> See paper on Maori and mining at Te Aroha.

<sup>42</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 37, p. 274; no. 38, pp. 33-34.

<sup>43</sup> H.W. Williams, *Dictionary of the Maori Language*, 7 ed. (Wellington, 1971), p. 144.

<sup>44</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 214.

<sup>45</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 37, p. 274.

<sup>46</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 95.

<sup>47</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 107.

<sup>48</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 98.

<sup>49</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 112.

<sup>50</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 96.

to Hauraki'.<sup>51</sup> 'All N'Maru was asked to come back to Hauraki in order to suffer or die with our own tribe – as we passed this land on our way to Hauraki we brought some of the Pigs with us but left most of them'.<sup>52</sup> Renata did not have a kainga at Koukourahi after the end of the Waikato War; he had not cultivated there, but had fed pigs. 'After the close of the Waikato war I went over there to sell pigs to Europeans'.<sup>53</sup>

In 1889 and 1890, when applying for the Te Hopai Block in Piako, he described his early life there. 'The occupation of this land consisted at times in catching eels & breeding pigs – there were no cultivations on it – my father and I used to catch eels in the Hopai stream'.<sup>54</sup> 'The nature of my occupation on this land was getting eels and feeding pigs – and I & my mother lived on the land – we had a house on it'.<sup>55</sup> Various people had eel weirs on the stream, which he was able to mark on a map. His family had two weirs, and anyone was allowed to use them temporarily.<sup>56</sup> Others used part of the land, but if their pigs strayed across to his hapu's side of the stream 'we killed them. I was not full grown at the time – but I knew about it – I was old enough to understand what took place'.<sup>57</sup> 'If anybody interfered with our pigs on this block we were angry with them'.<sup>58</sup> At an unspecified time he and his father had lived on the Te Makumaku Block, also in Piako, and planted fruit trees; 'for many years we eat the fruit of these trees'.<sup>59</sup>

In 1898, he said: 'It was before the fighting commenced at Taranaki that I went with my matua', or parents, 'to Taranaki';<sup>60</sup> he did not refer to this trip on any other occasion.

In 1890 he stated that when Te Poono<sup>61</sup> died, at an unstated date but when Renata appears to have been a teenager,

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<sup>51</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 106.

<sup>52</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 214.

<sup>53</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 70.

<sup>54</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 22, p. 91.

<sup>55</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, p. 240

<sup>56</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 296-297, 299, 305.

<sup>57</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, p. 298.

<sup>58</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, p. 299.

<sup>59</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 34, p. 25.

<sup>60</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 98.

<sup>61</sup> Father of Matiu Poono, another investor in Te Aroha mining: see paper on Maori in Hauraki in the nineteenth century.

all N'Maru of Manaia came to Hauraki.... Just before they went back Wikiriwhi and Materoa came to our kainga – and asked for my sister to be given as a wife to Raupene – my father would not agree – I then was asked for – and my father agreed to me being taken by Wikiriwhi and Materoa – I was taken by them to Manaia – and was there for three years – they were my adopted parents.... I came back to Hauraki after I had been many years. Wikiriwhi came to Hauraki – they lived at Te Kurepopo a settlement at Te Hunama – my father and mother disagreed – Wikiriwhi heard that my mother had been beaten by my father – and he was angry – Wikiriwhi and others came for a payment – Wikiriwhi said to him “Cease to behave in this manner or I shall take my sister away from you.”<sup>62</sup>

He lived with Wikiriwhi at his settlement at Manaia.<sup>63</sup>

Presumably he was at least a teenager when he went to dig gum on the Ngawhakapoupou Block; in 1889 he said it was ‘a long time since I first went to dig gum on this land’.<sup>64</sup> ‘We took European food with us when we went gum digging – to be paid for when we got the gum – potatoes – some we got from Europeans and some from Te Aki our own settlement’.<sup>65</sup> His sister-in-law, Raima Hemoata, Ranapia Mokena’s wife, recalled that he ‘went to many places and to my fathers to get gum’.<sup>66</sup> He was grown up when his mother died.<sup>67</sup> His father died in 1868.<sup>68</sup>

#### ETA MOKENA’S LAND

In 1873, Eta was listed as an owner of Waihekau No. 4.<sup>69</sup> The following year she received £6 for selling part of her interest in Te Aroha

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<sup>62</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, pp. 101-102.

<sup>63</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 107.

<sup>64</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, p. 220.

<sup>65</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 20, p. 219.

<sup>66</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 26, p. 47.

<sup>67</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 106.

<sup>68</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 6, p. 502.

<sup>69</sup> Maori Land Court, Waikato Minute Book no. 3, p. 113.



and £1 11s 5d for her interest in Ohinemuri 20B.<sup>70</sup> She received goldfield income, though the full amount is unknown because her share was included in her family's income. The only entry for herself alone was for 1885-1886, £15 2s 6d.<sup>71</sup> Like all nine owners, she had equal shares in Morgantown, and between the last quarter of 1880 and the first quarter of 1889 they both received £346 8s 5d.<sup>72</sup> In 1889 Eta received £25 11s 1d for selling her share in the Te Aroha domain extension.<sup>73</sup>

In 1884 she became an owner of Maurihoro.<sup>74</sup> The following year, Hare Renata made her an owner in Kaipapaka.<sup>75</sup> Also in 1885 she was listed as an owner of Ohinemuri No. 13.<sup>76</sup> In 1890 she and her husband were both granted a one-thirty-third interest in Kakatarahae, 3,540 acres in the Coromandel district; three years later she sold her interest for £21 9s 4d.<sup>77</sup> In 1892 she became an owner of Kaikaho No. 4.<sup>78</sup> In 1894 she became an owner of Awaiti No. 1.<sup>79</sup>

In 1893, Eta was willing to sell her interest in Aroha Block IX Section 15 (Morgantown) to the Crown for £250, but as this offer was £50 more than the price previously paid it was not accepted.<sup>80</sup> The following year, when

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<sup>70</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7; 'Statement of the Facts and Circumstances Affecting the Ohinemuri Block, Appendix H, Lands and Survey Department, LS 36/25a, ANZ-W.

<sup>71</sup> Native Reserves, Te Aroha, entry for 1885-1886, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/35b, ANZ-W.

<sup>72</sup> Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, 'Morgan's Block', BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>73</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 273, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>74</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 16, p. 38.

<sup>75</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 121.

<sup>76</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 19, p. 13.

<sup>77</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 153; Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 293, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>78</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 28, p. 339.

<sup>79</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 36A, p. 30.

<sup>80</sup> C.J. Dearle to Patrick Sheridan (Land Purchase Department), 15 December 1893 (telegram); Patrick Sheridan to C.J. Dearle, 15 December 1893 (telegram), Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 1, 1902/37, ANZ-W.

she sold her interest to her niece Ani Edwards<sup>81</sup> for £75, she assured the authorities that she still had land at Merehoru, Waitawheta, Oparia, and Orawhakapekapeka.<sup>82</sup> After inheriting a quarter of her brother Akuhata's<sup>83</sup> interest in it in 1900, she transferred this to Ani because she, Eta, had no children of her own.<sup>84</sup> One week previously, when she and her brother Ranapia<sup>85</sup> sold their interests in Aroha Block XII Section 48 (400 acres), they declared that they had received £55 10s from the sale and still owned 50 acres in the Karamu B Block, in Waitoa, had one share in Morgantown worth £200, and 10 acres in Orahiapou, in Piako, where she also had a share in Otakawa, Houkotuku, and Te Awaiti.<sup>86</sup> In 1901 she gave her share in Karamu B to Akuhata Lipsey<sup>87</sup>, her nephew.<sup>88</sup> When she died, she still owned Aroha Block IX Section 31, of 60 acres, with her brother Ranapia; her successor in Section 31A was her brother Rewi Mokena's<sup>89</sup> daughter, Titipo.<sup>90</sup>

Arguments over ownership could be very robust. In 1900, when the court sat in Te Aroha, a disagreement between Hikori Rawiri of Thames and Eta led to the former using 'some unparliamentary language'. Subsequently Eta summonsed him to appear 'before the native justices', and when he did not turn up at the hearing in the public hall he was fined £11 7s 6d.<sup>91</sup>

## HARE RENATA'S LAND

In 1870 his request to be included as one of the grantees of Tanganoa was approved.<sup>92</sup> Two years he was listed as an owner of Matatakahi,<sup>93</sup> and

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<sup>81</sup> See paper on Ani and Alexander Watson Edwards.

<sup>82</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Inwards Correspondence 1879-1896, 94/23, BACL 13388/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>83</sup> See paper on Akuhata Mokena.

<sup>84</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, pp. 232, 277.

<sup>85</sup> See paper on Ranapia Mokena.

<sup>86</sup> Aroha Block XII Section 48, Block Files, H1093, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

<sup>87</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>88</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 50, p. 293.

<sup>89</sup> See paper on his life.

<sup>90</sup> Aroha Block IX Section 31, Block Files, H984, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

<sup>91</sup> *Thames Star*, 22 October 1900, p. 4.

<sup>92</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 3, p. 274.

sought to be included in Waiwhakaurunga. ‘I have a claim on the land before the Court – My father described his land before he died and I wrote it down’. After describing it, he added, ‘We lived together on the land, my sister Tauhime was born on it at Raiponga’.<sup>94</sup> He was unsuccessful.<sup>95</sup> In that year he became an owner, with seven others, of Opango, and, with six others, of Horotitari.<sup>96</sup> His property qualification for being included in the Thames electoral roll in 1873 was to own (or more likely, to have a share in) Huikaretu B, at Shortland.<sup>97</sup> In 1878 he was listed with other Ngati Rahiri ‘with small holdings’ in the timber reserve created when the Aroha Block was sold.<sup>98</sup>

In 1881 he claimed Te Kauri, 1,577 acres, ‘from my ancestors – the land is not habitable – We go there for food but we cannot live there – eels are to be had there’. Other owners were willing to admit him and his siblings, but not the rest of Ngati Rautau, and he became one of 19 owners.<sup>99</sup> The following January, when giving evidence about his claim for Tahanui No. 2, he described being present when the land was surveyed in May 1881:

We went to oppose Hemi Te Kuri’s survey – He made it by stealth – We found him there with his surveyor also his wife and child – We told him to stop the surveyor.... Hemi said yes I know I am doing it by stealth – I will return and hand the survey over to us – I said to the Surveyor you hear Hemi’s statement then give me your field book that I may tear it up – He objected – We told him the land must not be taken into Court.... We took the chain from the Surveyor and brought to Mr Wilkinson’s office.<sup>100</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 6, p. 497.

<sup>94</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 6, pp. 501-502.

<sup>95</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 7, pp. 43, 73.

<sup>96</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 7, p. 74.

<sup>97</sup> Thames Electoral Roll, August 1873-September 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8183, 3015/73, ANZ-A.

<sup>98</sup> Schedule No. 4 of 1878, General Timber Reserve for Ngatirahiri with smallholdings, Maori Affairs Department, MA 1, 13/86, ANZ-W.

<sup>99</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, pp. 12-13, 26.

<sup>100</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, pp. 94-95.

(George Thomas Wilkinson was the native agent.)<sup>101</sup> They claimed that Hemi Te Kuri was surveying their forested land, which they had never lived on. Hare agreed that he had received some money from the sale of timber from the Turua forest, but said he had taken no part in the sale, having been at Waikato at the time.<sup>102</sup> Three years later he repeated that he was at Waikato when James Mackay paid for timber taken from the Turua and Oparia bush, returning afterwards; although some of his relatives were paid, he implied he had not been.<sup>103</sup>

In 1882 he became one of the owners of Aroha Block V Section 9, of 20 acres.<sup>104</sup> In May 1885, he claimed part of the Kaipapeka Block, near Turua. 'I have houses and cultivations on it now and the pah of my ancestors is visible to this day'.<sup>105</sup> His home was on the site of the old pa and cultivations.<sup>106</sup> Under questioning, he denied telling Wirope Hoterene Taipari that his survey 'was only a try on ... to get this land', which he claimed to have occupied for about seven years.<sup>107</sup> He was granted a portion named Oparianamatai.<sup>108</sup>

In the late 1880s, Ngati Patu gave him the southern part of the Houkotuhu Block, partly because of his ancestry.<sup>109</sup> In 1889 he applied for Te Hopai, in the Piako district, where he and his father had caught eels and bred pigs but had not cultivated.<sup>110</sup> He claimed through ancestry, his family having had a house there while they caught eels and pigs and because 'no one else used this land – our occupation was never disturbed'.<sup>111</sup> The counter-claimants, he said, were trying to take his land; the court determined that they should share ownership.<sup>112</sup> Renata then objected to his sisters-in-law, amongst others, having shares. 'Some of those objected to have intermarried with N. Patu and some I have put in on my own account';

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<sup>101</sup> See paper on Merea Wikiriwhi and George Thomas Wilkinson.

<sup>102</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, pp. 95-97.

<sup>103</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, pp. 42-43, 46.

<sup>104</sup> Aroha Block V Section 9, Block Files, H977, Maori Land Court, Hamilton.

<sup>105</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, pp. 41-42.

<sup>106</sup> Maori land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 44.

<sup>107</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, pp. 46-47.

<sup>108</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 17, p. 120; no. 27, p. 102.

<sup>109</sup> Evidence of Meri Rewiti: Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 57, p. 22.

<sup>110</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 22, p. 91.

<sup>111</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 240-241.

<sup>112</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 25, pp. 313, 320.

he agreed to include Ema Lipsey,<sup>113</sup> his sister-in-law, ‘in with him in his own share’.<sup>114</sup>

In December 1890, he applied for a share of Kakatarahae, to the south of Manaia and on the ridge of the dividing range,<sup>115</sup> through belonging to Ngati Waihinu.<sup>116</sup> He claimed that, after he was granted Oparianamatai in 1885,

Te Waaka said to me “you have done well – if you only knew as much about the lands that are being hidden from you by Wiririwhi and Reupene.” I asked him “Where are these lands” – he said “Some are here and some at Manaia – the largest piece belonging to you at Manaia is Kakatarahae” – I said let us go to Mason’s house and talk over the matter there – I said to him “Tell me what rights I have to this land you speak” – he said “If I do tell you don’t say anything about it – the reason your descent from Waiotehoe has been hidden is because your mother would not accept Materoa as a husband. – another reason is because your father would not give your sister to Reupene.” I said to Te Waaka – Explain to me my descent from Waiotehoe,

which was done, and was now recorded in the minutes. ‘I then asked Te Waaka to tell all about the Kakatarahae block – he said “Did you get a share of the money received for the kauri timber” – I said “No”’. Te Waaka then explained about past murders that led to Ngati Maru taking over the land and dividing it amongst themselves, and ‘gave the song in relation to the land’.<sup>117</sup> ‘On the same day’ a relative, Mata Parata, ‘spoke to me’.<sup>118</sup>

She said to me “Don’t come and oppose my case Rauhuia a piece of land at Puriri – because it has long been since disposed of – but when Manaia passes the Court then come.” – I asked her why some of the money for the Kauri timber was not given to me” – she said “you are quite right – it was Reupene’s idea – it is not my fault.” – She had asked Reupene to consider myself sister and younger brother – that was all that took place then.

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<sup>113</sup> See paper on George Lipsey and Ema Mokena.

<sup>114</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 26, p. 39.

<sup>115</sup> See map in Taimoana Turoa, *Te Takoto o to Whenua: Hauraki landmarks* (Auckland, 2000), p. 248.

<sup>116</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, p. 101.

<sup>117</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, pp. 102-104.

<sup>118</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, pp. 104, 106.

I saw Reupene the next morning – I said to him “Has Mata spoken to you” – he said “No” – I then told him what passed between Mata and myself. He said “I have heard already from Mata what you have told me” – but when he said he had not heard – he was merely trying to find out how much I knew. – I asked him what he thought about my relation to the land – he said “Give your genealogy” – he did not know my descent – he vaguely knew I was a relation of his. I said “If you leave me to work myself in I will go there seventy strong – but if you agree to my going in there will be only myself” – he then said – “When you see the gazette come to Manaia” – afterwards I saw the gazette for Hikuhikuawawa and I went to Manaia – I got there and he said nothing to me.

The case was adjourned because the map was incorrect, and when it was re-advertised in the *New Zealand Gazette* he returned to Manaia.

Reupene and I spoke about the matter – many heard what we said – I said to him “What have you got to say about our arrangement that as soon as I saw the gazette I was to come to Manaia” – he said “It would be better if we were to talk the matter over where all the old people could hear us” – I said I have come here to speak to you not to others – he said he would admit me – I said I would set up a case when this land was before the Court.

Further evidence was crossed out, the clerk noting: ‘Statement in chief closed’.<sup>119</sup> He won the case, the court granting him and Eta a one-thirty-third interest each.<sup>120</sup>

In March 1893, he and Hamiora Taura requested ‘a survey of the Kirimango Block at Piako, of which block we claim to be the owners’.<sup>121</sup> In September he claimed the Kaukourahi Block, in the same district, through ancestry and through catching pigs on it with his father.<sup>122</sup>

The mana under which this land was surveyed was mine, not Te Ripikoi’s. I said to Ripikoi let this land be surveyed and he asked me if I could pay for it. I said we will speak to Mr [Lemuel John]

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<sup>119</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, pp. 104-105.

<sup>120</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 27, pp. 116, 153.

<sup>121</sup> Hamiora Taura and Hare Renata to Chief Surveyor, Auckland, 7 March 1893, Piako Block 1890-1899, Lands and Survey Department, BAAZ 1108, 21/681A, ANZ-A.

<sup>122</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, pp. 213-214.

Bagnall<sup>123</sup> [owner of the sawmill at Turua] about that, so we went to him and asked him to pay for the survey of the land. He said he would do so in my name. As he did not know Te Ripikoi then, Bagnall asked [George Arthur] Purchas<sup>124</sup> to survey the land. I asked Ripikoi to conduct the survey but to be careful to do so carefully.

They went and found men on the land cutting flax to sell to the Pakehas. Viz Tutewana & Te Ataata & others he asked them for payment but they would not pay him [because] they said it was not his land.

Then Ripikoi wrote to me, & sent a man in with it, viz Waoriki, asking me to go up to see about this. I did so. Four of us went.... When we got to Te Awapikopiko neither Ripikoi nor Tutewana were there – only the mother of the latter, and she said you have come to put my child in prison over this flax of yours. I replied no, I have only come to talk it over. In the evening Te Ripikoi[s] messenger came,

who reported that Te Ripikoi would not pay for the flax. ‘When my lawyer sent him a letter he paid the money’.<sup>125</sup> After a flaxmill was established at Kopuraruwai, Ngati Maru went by steamer to show its owners which parts of the flax swamp belonged to which person.<sup>126</sup> After a great deal more evidence was heard for and against the various claims, he was granted a share.<sup>127</sup>

In October he also applied for Te Makumaku, also in Piako, because he and his father had lived on it and planted fruit trees.<sup>128</sup> He admitted taking ‘money from the government for Piako and N’Maru made me pay it back saying that Piako should be a land for N’Maru. [John] Sheehan would not take it back’.<sup>129</sup> He later explained that Sheehan, the Native Minister, ‘came here in 1882 about the Government advances on account of Piako. It was seen that my hapu was in debt. Taipari wanted me to give a certain block but I declined to agree saying my liability must be paid for in Piako

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<sup>123</sup> See *Thames Electoral Roll, 1879*, p. 4; *Ohinemuri Gazette*, 2 May 1917, p. 2.

<sup>124</sup> Purchas also surveyed at Te Aroha: see papers on the early years of mining and settlement.

<sup>125</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, pp. 217-218 [punctuation added].

<sup>126</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 219.

<sup>127</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 33, p. 272.

<sup>128</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 34, p. 25.

<sup>129</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 34, p. 26.

land. If I had managed to get Te Hopai I would have given that to Govt'.<sup>130</sup> (He was wrong about the date: Sheehan was a member of Sir George Grey's government from 1877-1879.)<sup>131</sup> In October 1893, he applied for Te Wairoa, of 662 acres, but his case for this and also for Te Makumake failed.<sup>132</sup> In December his claim for Kopuarahi, between Turua and the Piako River, was rejected.<sup>133</sup>

In March 1895 he complained that the Ngati Maru list of owners of Pouarua and Pipiroa made the interests of himself and others 'too little', and applied to add the names of his sisters and the children of one of them. When it was pointed out by a counter-claimant that he 'was present when this list was made out & said he would have no share [and] to withdraw his name', Renata responded, 'I said so because they only allowed us half a share each'.<sup>134</sup> As a result of his protest, he received a full share and the four extra names were added.<sup>135</sup>

In April 1898 he applied for Otakawe, also in Piako, basing the claim that his hapu had lived and cultivated there. 'I set up claims in Makumaku, Kirimango & Tiritiri because my matua [parents]<sup>136</sup> told me that the name Kirimango covered all that land'.<sup>137</sup> 'I last worked at Motuhuto in 1884': the work was catching eels.<sup>138</sup> He was allotted 40 shares, Paora Tiunga's party receiving 30.<sup>139</sup> In November he applied to partition Oparia, 44 acres on the eastern side of the Waihou River. Of the 11 owners, only his younger brother opposed the proposal. Hare wanted the interests of himself, his wife, and Te Rina Kerei cut out, receiving the northern side of the block. He intended to give his own share to Te Rina Kerei. 'The reason I want the land divided is, that my relations are cultivating on part of the block (that for the 8 persons). And they are disputing. Te Rina Kerei is cult[ivating] at

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<sup>130</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 46, p. 77.

<sup>131</sup> *New Zealand Parliamentary Record 1840-1949*, ed. Guy H. Scholefield (Wellington, 1950), p. 37.

<sup>132</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 34, pp. 49, 83-84.

<sup>133</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 35, p. 186.

<sup>134</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 37, p. 22.

<sup>135</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 37, p. 25.

<sup>136</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, p. 25.

<sup>137</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 95.

<sup>138</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 98.

<sup>139</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 119.



a spot I indicate. My other relatives object to her doing so'. The court agreed to this solution to a family quarrel.<sup>140</sup>

In 1900 he was granted one share out of four and a half in Haukotuku South, an area of just over one acre.<sup>141</sup> In 1907 he sought to obtain more land at Ohaupo, which was on Haukotuku North, but the court determined that he had 'not proved any right, and that he obtained all the land he is entitled to in this locality, when Houkotuku South was awarded to him'.<sup>142</sup>

Renata profited financially from his land holdings. In 1874 he was paid £38 for his interest in Waihou and Waihou East, about 20,000 acres.<sup>143</sup> As noted, between the last quarter of 1880 and the first of 1889 he received £346 8s 5d for his share of the rents of Morgantown.<sup>144</sup> Like the other owners of the Te Aroha domain extension, he received £25 11s 1d when they sold it in 1889.<sup>145</sup>

Renata was in charge of several cases in the land court, usually but not always when personally interested.<sup>146</sup> He had a book for witnesses to record their whakapapa.<sup>147</sup> Like most witnesses, his evidence was not disinterested. In 1896, when Koukourahi and other blocks in which he had a claim to ownership were being considered, he was accused of trying to deceive other claimants, notably his regular rival, Paora Tiunga. Having agreed with their whakapapa when outside the court, he disagreed with it during the hearing.

Q Was not this the reason, because of this genealogy, that you, Paora Tiunga and Ripikoi agreed, to join your claims from Huie Te Kura

A Yes, but I have already explained to the Court that I did so at their instigation, it was their doing – I deny that we have any

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<sup>140</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 49, pp. 257-258.

<sup>141</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 279.

<sup>142</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 57, pp. 22, 34.

<sup>143</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 143, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-W.

<sup>144</sup> Waihi Warden's Court, Te Aroha Gold Field, Native Land Blocks 1880-1893, 'Morgan's Block', BAFV 13781/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>145</sup> Register of Payments to Individuals for Purchase of Land 1873-1880, p. 273, Maori Affairs Department, MA-MLP 7/7, ANZ-A.

<sup>146</sup> For example, Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 33, p. 270; no. 46, p. 133.

<sup>147</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 46, p. 134.

right to the land from that source although the genealogy is correct.<sup>148</sup>

The judge intervened:

Q When you signed those agreements you handed into Court were you aware you had no claim to the lands mentioned in those agreements

A Yes. Hui Te Kura had no right to the lands mentioned in those agreements

Q Knowing this, can you give an feasible explanation of why you did it – beyond the fact of their asking you to do so

A My only reason for signing was because they wished me to though I resolved to give the true evidence when the lands came before the Court.

Q Then your real reason was to deceive them.

A It was to give effect to their wish – but I made up my mind when I came before the Court I should give true evidence.<sup>149</sup>

After giving evidence that he had lived with Paora Tiunga's parents at Rautawhiri, there was another exchange with the judge:

Q Did you mentioned Te Rautawhiri as being a kainga of yours at the first Court

A No

Q Then this is a new kainga of yours grown up today, as the kainga you said your only permanent kainga was Kirimango

A Kirimango was the general name of the place, I was not asked particularly about my kainga.<sup>150</sup>

The clerk noted, probably on the judge's instructions, '(Should have given these without being asked)'. Immediately afterwards, an extract was recorded from his 1872 evidence that 'our only kainga tuturu [prominent village]<sup>151</sup> was Kirimango', which he acknowledged having said. The judge again intervened:

Q Did any one ask you about Kirimango

A I don't remember

Q Did anybody ask you if you lived at Kirimango

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<sup>148</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 32.

<sup>149</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, pp. 32-33.

<sup>150</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 34.

<sup>151</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, pp. 16, 48.

A I don't remember, it is a long time ago

Q Why did you mention Kirimango, and not Tautawhiri

A I suppose I forgot, it is not possible to remember everything whilst giving evidence – and further I was giving evidence in a half-hearted manner, as my take raupatu [land taken forcibly, with shedding of blood]<sup>152</sup> had been decided against. I don't remember the Court deciding for or against my occupation.<sup>153</sup>

Two years later, he revealed continued conflict with Paora Tiunga:

Some of the evidence which I gave in Te Hopai case was the result of whatakiki [literally 'tell']<sup>154</sup> by Te Ripikoi & Paora Tiunga.... The agreement between myself and Paora Tiunga & Ripikoi was made at their instance as they were afraid that I might drop them. When the land came before the Court they adopted other tupuna [ancestors]<sup>155</sup> to trick me.<sup>156</sup>

Shortly afterwards, in a response to a question from Tiunga, he retorted:

You know it was understood that I should admit you to Wawenga's land. You never expressed a wish to keep the agreement, so I kept it as a check upon your trickery. I did not tell you of these lands of Wawenga because you deceived me about other land.<sup>157</sup>

## INVESTING IN MINING

'Renata', a miner, had scrip shares in the Mazeppa Company at Karangahake in 1875;<sup>158</sup> was he Hare Renata? Five days after the Te Aroha field was opened, he obtained a miner's right.<sup>159</sup> Two weeks later he was registered as possessing two shares in a claim, one of which he sold

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<sup>152</sup> Tom Roa (University of Waikato) to Philip Hart, 4 August 2003, email.

<sup>153</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 38, p. 34.

<sup>154</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, p. 52.

<sup>155</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, p. 48.

<sup>156</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 104.

<sup>157</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 47, p. 111.

<sup>158</sup> *New Zealand Gazette*, 13 May 1875, p. 329.

<sup>159</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Miner's Right no. 568, issued 30 November 1880, Miner's Rights Butt Book 1880, BBAV 11533/1d, ANZ-A.

immediately and the other two weeks later.<sup>160</sup> Five days after selling his second share, he acquired one in another claim.<sup>161</sup> With his in-laws Akuhata and Ranapia Mokena, as well as other Maori, he owned a claim at Puriri in 1888.<sup>162</sup> In 1902, with two other Maori, he became an owner of a claim at Mata Creek, north of Thames.<sup>163</sup>

Eta's sole venture into mining speculation was to buy her brother-in-law George Lipsey's share in the Morgan claim, at Tui, in 1888, for £5.<sup>164</sup> It did not produce any ore.

## FINANCES

Renata was sued only once for an outstanding debt, in 1882, when a Thames draper sought £15 4s 3d. When he offered a horse in payment, the draper refused to accept it because it was worthless. He was ordered to pay the amount, in instalments, an indication of relative poverty, less £5 15s 3d already paid into court.<sup>165</sup> He sued William Dufty,<sup>166</sup> a Thames labourer and slaughterman, for £3 8s in 1887; 18s was awarded, and either it was not paid or more debt was incurred, for six months later he obtained a judgment summons for £1 13s. An attempt to settle the case out of court came to nothing because the horse Dufty offered him, valued at £3, was declined. Dufty had also tendered 20s, which was refused, but which he had

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<sup>160</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 190, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>161</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1888, folio 212, BBAV 11567/1a, ANZ-A.

<sup>162</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Register of Claims 1886-1888, no. 1688, BACL 14397/17a, ANZ-A.

<sup>163</sup> Thames Warden's Court, Register of Applications for Licensed Holdings and Special Claims 1897-1909, 24/1902, BACL 14376/3a, ANZ-A.

<sup>164</sup> Te Aroha Warden's Court, Register of Te Aroha Claims 1880-1885, folio 325, BBAV 11567/1a; Certified Instruments 1888, BBAV 11581/9a, ANZ-A.

<sup>165</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1881-1883, 70/1882, BACL 13735/1b, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 13 May 1882, p. 3.

<sup>166</sup> See *Thames Advertiser*, Magistrate's Court, 22 September 1888, p. 2, 7 November 1888, p. 2, 4 February 1889, p. 2.

since spent'. Dufty was required to pay within one week or be sentenced to five days in prison.<sup>167</sup>

(Renata's only other experience of the court system was in 1872, when he was fined 10s for being drunk and incapable.<sup>168</sup> This was the only occasion when a criminal charge was laid against him.)

## WHERE THEY LIVED

In 1869, when Renata appeared in court on behalf of his nieces and nephews, Daniel Tookey's children, he stated that he lived 'at Huikautu at Hauraki'.<sup>169</sup> When included in the electoral roll in 1873, his address was given at Waiau.<sup>170</sup> In 1882 they lived at Turua.<sup>171</sup> In 1885, after a Pakeha drowned in the Waihou River at Opawai, otherwise Duck Creek, near Bagnell's sawmill at Turua, Renata saw the body floating in the creek and alerted the mill workers. He was then living at Oparia,<sup>172</sup> near the mouth of the river. In that year he said that he had lived there for about seven years. 'Previous to this time I resided at Te Aroha', for an unstated period.<sup>173</sup> In 1907 it was stated that they went from Te Aroha and settled at Ohaupo, on Houkotuku North, in 1888 or 1889, on the invitation of Hoani Kipa, so that Renata would 'be an elder for the people'. Kipa selected areas for Renata to cultivate and to erect a house, but they afterwards quarrelled because Renata extended his cultivations 'where he was not authorized'. Renata called a meeting, which decided in favour of Kipa.<sup>174</sup> They were still living at Ohaupo, which was noted as being near Shortland, in 1890 and 1898,<sup>175</sup> They were living with Akuhata Mokena at Puriri when the latter died in

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<sup>167</sup> Thames Magistrate's Court, Civil Record Book 1885-1887, 85/1887, BACL 13735/2b; Civil Record Book 1887-1890, 258/1887, BACL 13735/2c, ANZ-A; Magistrate's Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 10 September 1887, p. 2, 1 October 1887, p. 2.

<sup>168</sup> Police Court, *Thames Advertiser*, 17 October 1872, p. 3.

<sup>169</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 2, p. 157.

<sup>170</sup> Thames Electoral Roll, August 1873-September 1874, Auckland Provincial Government Papers, ACFM 8183, 3015/73, ANZ-A.

<sup>171</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 14, p. 94.

<sup>172</sup> *Thames Advertiser*, 30 November 1885, p. 3.

<sup>173</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 17, p. 47.

<sup>174</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 57, pp. 22-24.

<sup>175</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Books, no. 25, p. 240; no. 46, p. 370.

1900.<sup>176</sup> In 1912 he said that 'I lived formerly at Ohaupo', but did not give a date for when he ceased living there.<sup>177</sup> They were both living at Tui pa at Te Aroha in 1918.<sup>178</sup> A descendent of Mokena Hou remembered that, when she and her brother were young, they sometimes spent a night with their great-aunt and great-uncle. 'Eta lived in an earth-floored whare at Tui Pa. Despite the earth floor, the house was spotlessly clean, and the sheets on the bed were crisp and white'.<sup>179</sup>

## DEATHS

After three weeks of illness, Eta died at Tui Pa on 15 December 1918, of natural causes. She was recorded as being aged 70.<sup>180</sup> Three days later, Renata, whose age was also given as 70, died.<sup>181</sup> Neither received an obituary. As they had no children, under her will of 15 October 1918 all Eta's property went to their niece Titipo, the daughter of Rewi Mokena. Included in her personal affects were 'six ancient Maori war weapons namely two greenstone axes (patu pounamu), three Taiaha [long clubs]<sup>182</sup> and one Hoeroa' [curved throwing weapon].<sup>183</sup> As her English cannot have been too fluent, the will was written in both English and Maori, and she chose an interpreter as her executor.<sup>184</sup>

## CONCLUSION

As usual, much more can be discovered about a man's life than a woman's. Most of the information discovered gives a detailed account of Hare Renata's life, living in various places, cultivating, catching pigs, fish, birds, and eels, and selling some of these to Pakeha, whereas almost

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<sup>176</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 52, p. 243.

<sup>177</sup> Maori Land Court, Hauraki Minute Book no. 62, p. 128.

<sup>178</sup> Death Certificates of Eta Mokena, 15 December 1918, 1918/9925; Hare Renata, 18 December 1918, 1918/9913, BDM.

<sup>179</sup> Recollections of Mrs Doreen Barker Thorne, n.d., in Brian Malcolm, *Te Mokena Hou* (privately published, n.d. [?1990]), p. 33; copy held by Michael Barker, Te Aroha.

<sup>180</sup> Death Certificate of Eta Mokena, 15 December 1918, 1918/9925, BDM.

<sup>181</sup> Death Certificate of Hare Renata, 18 December 1918, 1918/9913, BDM.

<sup>182</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, p. 40.

<sup>183</sup> Ryan, *New Dictionary*, p. 13.

<sup>184</sup> Will of Eta Mokena, 15 October 1918, copy held by Michael Barker, Te Aroha.

nothing is known about Eta's. More information is available about their land dealings, with Eta, being childless, gifting some of her interests to her nephew and nieces. As so often, some of Renata's evidence in the land court when contesting with opponents was one-sided and sometimes false. He had interests in three goldfields, but Eta had one interest in just one portion of the Te Aroha field.